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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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TO THE
CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION.
ON THE
ARREST OF MR. O'CONNELL,
ON A CHARGE OF SEDITION.

Kensington, 29th Dec. 1824.
GENTLEMEN,

A KING of France (says an old story) said, one day, to his Minister, "What do these Swiss Cantons mean by behaving in this manner towards me?" "Indeed, Sire," answered the Minister, "the Swiss Cantons have *truth* and *justice* on their side." "Have they?" said the King of France, "then, by —, I will go to war with the Swiss Cantons to-morrow morning." And, if Mr. O'CONNELL had put forth a parcel of *lies* and of *nonsense* at the Meeting of the Catholic Association; if he had made himself an object of the ridicule instead of the admiration of the public; if, in short, his cause had not been righteous, and he had not been

urging it on with manifest effect and fair prospect of success, ~~never~~ would his words have been regarded as "*sedition*," never would *informers* have been listened to against him, never would he have been *arrested* and *held to bail*.

But, before I go any further in the way of remark upon this transaction, let me put upon record the circumstances of the arrest itself. These circumstances are curious; and, besides this, we shall have to refer to them hereafter.

"At about half past five o'clock yesterday evening, December 20, 1824, as Mr. O'Connell had just returned from the Committee of the Catholic Association, where a great deal of business had been transacted, Alderman Darley and Mr. Farrell, the Constable of Police, were ushered into his study. After the usual salutation, the Alderman said, that he came in his official capacity, to save Mr. O'Connell the trouble of attend-

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[ENTERED AT STATIONERS'HALL.]

“ing at the Police Office, to enter
 “into a recognizance to appear
 “at the next Sessions, which he
 “was directed by the Attorney-
 “General to call on Mr. O’Con-
 “nell to enter into.

“Mr. O’CONNELL—Upon what
 “charge, Mr. Alderman?

“Alderman DARLEY—Upon a
 “charge of having spoken sedi-
 “tious words at the last Meeting
 “of the Catholic Association.

“Mr. O’CONNELL—What
 “words am I charged with hav-
 “ing spoken?

“Alderman DARLEY—I am not
 “at liberty to inform you; you
 “must apply to the Attorney-
 “General.

“Mr. O’CONNELL—Can I even
 “know the name of the Informer?

“Alderman DARLEY—I am
 “not at liberty to tell you; you
 “must apply to a higher quarter;
 “I come merely to inform you,
 “that legal documents have been
 “laid before me, that entitle me
 “to require from you a recogni-
 “zance to appear at the next Ses-
 “sions. I wish to give you the
 “least possible trouble. I have
 “come to your own house for that
 “purpose, and I will take your
 “own recognizance, without re-
 “quiring any person to join you.

“Mr. O’CONNELL—Then, Mr.
 “Alderman, I submit at once. I

“will enter into the recognizance
 “as I am not to know for what;
 “and I am bound to say, that you
 “have done your part with per-
 “fect politeness and civility.

“The Alderman then produced
 “a recognizance, conditioned to
 “appear at the ensuing Quarter
 “Sessions, to commence the 2d
 “or 3d of January, we do not
 “know which. This recognizance
 “Mr. O’Connell executed, but
 “said, ‘Why, Mr. Alderman,
 “this directly interferes with my
 “intended journey to England,
 “could you not take it, as there
 “are as yet no bills found, for the
 “Sessions after next, or for the
 “Term.’

“Alderman DARLEY—I have
 “no discretion upon that subject;
 “upon that also you must apply
 “to the Attorney-General.”

There, then, is the **THING’S**
 first move! Every man of sense, in
 England, said, that the **THING**
 would do *something*. What it
 would do, no one could guess; but,
 it was clear, that, if it *did nothing*,
 there would be Catholic Emanci-
 pation *almost immediately*. It will
 come at last, let the **THING** do
 what it may; but no man, who has
 studied the character of this match-
 less “Old Glorious” **THING**,
 could suppose that it would not
 do *something*. This *first move* is

in its *old way*: in the Pitt, Percival, Sidmouth, and Castlereagh way. In 1817, when "**TWO-PENNY TRASH**" was rousing the people *to petition for Parliamentary Reform*, every one said to me, "By —, they will stop you!" I said: "*How* can they stop me? I write nothing that can be called, that can be tortured, into a *libel*. How, then, are they to stop me?" The reply was: "They will, for they *must*: they must stop you, or you will stop them: no matter *how*; some how or other they will do it."

The **THING** then went to work, at first, in an odd sort of way. The *first move* came from the *Stamp-Office*! The attorney of that office gave notice of a *charge for stamps* upon a *pamphlet*, as if it had been a *newspaper*; and, as the English papers informed me in Long Island, the charge against me amounted to about *a hundred thousand pounds*! Oh, brave **THING**! I have never heard any more of that charge from that day to this.

However, there were soon *other moves* resorted to, which soon cut short all *argument* and all *law*. **SIDMOUTH** and **CASTLEREAGH** were authorized to shut up in prison every one, "*suspected of trea-*

sonable practices;" and, when **SIDMOUTH** brought in the Bill, he distinctly stated, as a *reason* for it, that the *publications* then going on were such, that the law-officers of the crown *could find nothing in them to prosecute with any chance of success!!!* Oh, admiration of surrounding nations! **LORD HOLLAND** asked **SIDMOUTH**, why, if there were such seditious works going forth from the press, he did not cause them to be *prosecuted*; to which the latter answered, that he had laid them all before the law-officers, and that they could find nothing to prosecute, such was the *art and malignity* of the writers! Therefore, the *Power-of-Imprisonment Bill* was passed! One of my sons brought me, from the House of Lords, an account of this speech of **SIDMOUTH**. "Oh! then," said I, "we must strike our tent and be off." Off we were; but, the **THING** felt the effect of the long arm across the Atlantic ocean; and, what is more, I did, in that country, to which I fled, that which the **THING** will never, as long as it shall exist, cease to feel *the effects of*; and yet I never did or said any thing *unlawful*, according to those laws which were my birthright.

I care not whether the tithe and

tax-eaters call this *egotism*. This is a proper time to remind the Public of these movements of the **THING**. Such matters ought, upon every occasion like the present, to be revived. Men of full age are apt to forget them; and young men have hardly ever heard of them; and they ought to hear of them, and to fix them well in their minds.

Now, as to the arrest of Mr. O'Connell, it is curious enough as to its manner. Arrest and bail for libel *before conviction* is a very new thing. It was first invented by GIBBS, and introduced into a *revenue-law*! According to this law, all persons, accused of *mis-demeanor* in information, filed by the Attorney-General, might, by him, be brought before a *Judge*, and, if *he* thought proper, might be held to bail to answer the charge, or be committed in default of bail. This lay dormant as to *libellers*, until the appearance of MAJOR HOGAN's famous pamphlet, the printer of which for want of bail, was sent to prison. The Duke of York and Mrs. Clarke's affair soon got, however, into such a state as to cause the printer to be discharged without ever being brought to trial.

Magistrates, acting on SIDMOUTH's Circular of 1817, held

pretended, or real, libellers, to bail to answer the charge. PARSON HAY of Manchester fame, went further. He held to bail, and to *keep the peace and be of good behaviour* in the meanwhile! And, in **SIX-ACTS**, the power to do this was made *lawful*! So that, now, every printer, publisher, writer and speaker in the kingdom might, and may, at any hour, be held to bail, or imprisoned in default of bail by any Magistrate, who *thinks* that he sees a libel in the publication, or speech of such printer, publisher, or speaker. And, mind, if the party commit a *breach of the peace*, or be *not of good behaviour*, in the meanwhile, he *forfeits his recognizances*, though he may be *acquitted of the libel*! Oh! envy of surrounding nations! Oh! admiration of the world!

But, though the Attorney-General, when he has filed his information, may take the party *before a Judge*, and pray the *Judge* to hold to bail, there is no law in England (and I know of none in Ireland) by which, at his suit or command, a *magistrate* can be set to work to arrest for libel and to hold to bail. Yet, Mr. ALDERMAN DARLEY arrests at Mr. PLUNKETT's command; or, at least, so it appears from the above account.

Even GIBBS, with PERCIVAL for Prime Minister, did not venture to propose to send men to gaol, or to hold them to bail, on a mere charge of libel, without first taking them before a *Judge*. Here was some security for the accused party. He was *to appear before the Judge*: he was to show cause against the application of the Attorney-General: he was to be heard in his defence here: the Judge was a deeply responsible person: and it was not to be supposed, that the Attorney-General would, unless in a very aggravated case, bring an offender before him on an application of this sort.

To be sure, the SIX-ACTS law, which enables the magistrate to hold to bail, or to commit in default of it, takes away much of this security to our persons; but still the magistrate was *answerable for his own doings*: he was acting on his *own authority*. But, here, in this proceeding in Dublin, the Attorney-General *avoids the appeal to the Judge*, and the magistrate *avoids acting under his own authority*. When Mr. O'CONNELL asks, what is his precise offence, who is his accuser, the magistrate cannot answer; he refers Mr. O'CONNELL to the Attorney-General, though he, the magistrate, *issues the warrant, and takes*

the bail! The magistrate is here a mere instrument in the hands of the Attorney-General, who, *if this be lawful*, may thus set all the justices of peace in the kingdom to work.

Now, as to the *charge* against Mr. O'CONNELL, it appears (if the statement in the newspapers be correct), that he, at a Meeting of the Catholic Association, spoke the following words:—"Nations *" have,"* he remarked, *" been driven mad by oppression—he hoped that Ireland would never be driven to resort to the system pursued by the Greeks and South Americans to obtain their rights—he trusted in God they would never be so driven. He hoped Ireland would be restored to her rights—but, if that day should arrive—if she were driven mad by persecution, he wished that a new BOLIVAR may be found—may arise—that the spirit of the Greeks, and of the South Americans, may animate the people of Ireland."*

If Mr. O'CONNELL had said, that, in the case which he hoped would never arise, he wished "that a new William the Dutchman would be found, would arise, that the spirit of the ENGLISH would animate the people of Ireland;" if he had said this,

instead of talking of Bolivar, the Greeks and the South Americans, how prodigiously he would have puzzled Mr. PLUNKETT and Mr. ALDERMAN DARLEY. What has Mr. O'CONNELL said here that has not been said ten thousand times over by all the eminent speakers and writers on that which is called the Glorious Revolution of 1688. That event is called Glorious; that event placed the present family upon the Throne of this Kingdom; that event contained, or rather, was the effect of a series of foul conspiracies and of the blackest and most villanous rebellion, and William was never a lawful King, and the present family have no more right to the Throne than I have, if we reject as false and unsound, if we deem to be seditious and disloyal the doctrine of a right to resist oppression.

But, let us not, in justice, in bare justice, to this public-spirited and excellent man; let us not slur this matter over by resting upon what writers or speakers may have said upon the subject. We have, indeed, the grave authority of BLACKSTONE to warrant us in saying that this is a right inherent in all mankind. Blackstone does, indeed, say, that it must be an "extreme case" that warrant

men in taking arms against their Sovereign; and, does not Mr. O'CONNELL contemplate an "extreme case"? He says that he trusts in God that the provocation will never arise; but that, "if Ireland were driven mad by persecution," then he hopes that a new Bolivar will arise. BLACKSTONE says that it must be an extreme case; and can a case be more extreme than that of a people driven to madness by persecution?

However, let us not rest upon BLACKSTONE. Let us go to the statutes themselves, and see what the law of the land says upon this subject of a right to resistance. In the 13th and 14th years of Charles the Second, an act was passed, or rather, two acts, chapter 3d and chapter 4th of those years, requiring from officers in the army, and from persons in the church, and schoolmasters, to subscribe a declaration in the following words: "I, A. B. do declare that it is not lawful upon any pretence whatsoever to take arms against the King." Now, it is very well known, that many of the people did take arms against King James the Second and his heirs. It is very well known, that he was, by force of arms, expelled from the kingdom and the throne,

and his family after him; and that, too, upon the ground that the people have in them an inherent right to resist oppression.

When, therefore, WILLIAM and MARY were, in virtue of that resistance on the part of the people, seated on the throne of this kingdom, an Act was passed (chap. 8 of the first year of their reign) in which Act this provision of the 13th and 14th of Charles the Second was expressly repealed. This Act (section the 11th) says, And be it further enacted, " that " the oath appointed by the sta- " tute made in the 13th and 14th " of King Charles the Second " (here the title of the act is in- " serted) as expressed in these " words: " I, A. B. declare, that " it is not lawful, under any pre- " tence whatever, to take arms " against the King, SHALL " NOT FROM HENCE- " FORTH BE REQUIRED " OR ENJOINED, nor any per- " son suffer any forfeiture, pe- " nalty or loss, by the not taking, " subscribing or making the said " oath, or the said recited part of " the said declaration, the last fore- " mentioned statutes, or any other " law or statute to the contrary in " anywise notwithstanding."

Here, then, as clear as day-
light, is the right of resistance of

oppression acknowledged and en-
acted. And is it then criminal to
say that we would act, in case of
the most monstrous oppression
that could be conceived, agree-
ably to that which is clearly the
law of the land? Mr. O'CONNELL
supposes a case ten thousand times
more aggravated than that which
existed at the time of the Revo-
lution of 1688. He supposes a
case of a people driven to mad-
ness by persecution, and in such
a case, expresses a hope that re-
sistance would take place; and,
while the Orangemen are stun-
ning us to death with their bawl-
ings about the glorious Revolution;
while they are telling us that
King William ought to be looked
upon as a deliverer; while they
are dressing his statue and danc-
ing like cannibals around it;
while they celebrate the day of his
landing with the Dutch troops to
assist Englishmen to resist, and
in arms to resist, their Sovereign,
they exult in the hope that they
shall, somehow or other, see Mr.
O'CONNELL destroyed for utter-
ing a sentiment consonant to the
principle of that Revolution.

It is impossible to place the
matter in a clearer light than it is
here placed. Language like that
of Mr. O'CONNELL is not only
strictly within the letter of the law,

but it is language that is made use of every day in England by every writer on the side of public liberty, and of justice. BLACKSTONE (a very cautious writer, indeed), takes occasion to express his utter contempt for the doctrine of *passive obedience*. He says that the common sense of mankind is not to be insulted by such a doctrine; and, if such a doctrine had been consonant even to the Catholic Religion, we never should have seen that MAGNA CHARTA which has been so long, and so justly, the boast of the country. Every one knows, that that famous charter was extorted from an oppressor by *force of arms*, but every one does not know that it was extorted at the instigation of the Archbishop of Canterbury of that day, and that it was witnessed by more Bishops and Abbots than by all other persons put together.

Mr. O'CONNELL is, therefore, justified by the principles of the Revolution of 1688, by the law of the land, as it now stands, and by the principles and practice of that ancient Church of which he himself is now the great defender.

Gentlemen, this arrest and holding to bail of Mr. O'CONNELL are seen, in England, in their true light. Many able pens have come

forth in his defence; but none more gallantly than that of the Editor of the *Morning Chronicle*, who has given us the following extract of a letter published by SIR HARCOURT LEES:—"In the
 " event of the Irish Government
 " not being permitted, by the in-
 " fatuated and ignorant cabal in
 " His MAJESTY'S Cabinet, (who
 " have degraded the British Em-
 " pire, and nearly lost Ireland by
 " their temporizing policy,) to
 " adopt such immediate measures
 " for the preservation of this
 " country as the pressing exigency
 " of the times requires, I will, at
 " every risk, take the responsi-
 " bility on myself of protecting
 " this Island for my venerated
 " Sovereign; and I will instantly
 " recommend to the Protestants of
 " Ulster to form a great Military
 " Confederation.
 " Should this despicable Cabinet
 " System be persevered in two
 " months longer, I will consider
 " it to be my duty as your ac-
 " knowledged Protector, to pass
 " in review the entire Protestant
 " force of Ulster early in March,
 " by which period I shall arrange
 " such a military organization for
 " the Province as shall render it
 " a matter of perfect indifference
 " to me whether Mr. George Can-
 " ning and the Popish Grenvilles

"choose to protect us or to join the Priests."

Here, indeed, as the *Chronicle* well observes, is ground for prosecution. Here is the most audacious threat ever held out to any Government. Here is a man absolutely menacing the Government with open resistance and with attack by military force which he says he is organizing, unless the Government shall, within two months, change its conduct with regard to Ireland! He speaks to the Ministers by name. He challenges forth Mr. CANNING, and he speaks of another part of the Cabinet, as the "POPIH GRENVILLES." Everybody knows that, if the GRENVILLES be of the Catholic faith, they are every one of them perjured men. Every one knows, that there is not a male member of that family who is a Catholic; and the sole ground of the imputation rests on that which ought to atone for ten thousand faults against that family; namely, the princely generosity of the late Marquis of Buckingham towards the family of Bourbon and its dependants at a moment, and for years, indeed, when the backs of the whole world were turned upon them. Any thing so audacious as this publication of SIR HARCOURT LEES never before appeared in

print in any country. It would bring down condign punishment upon the head of the author even in the United States of America. It is precisely the case contemplated by BLAKSTONE, when he says, that every individual is not to take it into his head, that he has a right to judge of the amount of the provocation which is to justify resistance.

Yet, Sir HARCOURT LEES sends forth his menaces with impunity! We hear of no arrest of him; no harassings of him; no holding of him to bail. He belongs to that faction, who have so long enjoyed impunity, that he has no fears. He thinks (and appears justly to think) that he can say or do what he pleases. There is nothing which Englishmen dislike so much as *partiality*. The arrest of Mr. O'CONNELL has excited here a very strong sensation; but that sensation would have been much weaker than it is, had we not before us the conduct and the impunity of SIR HARCOURT LEES. Every man *now* sees very clearly what is going on in Ireland. Every one sees now the real cause of all the miseries of that country and of the enormous expense to which this country is put on account of those miseries.

Let me, in conclusion, Gentle-

men, express a hope, that the arrest of Mr. O'CONNELL will produce no excitement to acts or words that may tend to diminish in the smallest degree, that favourable impression which is now entertained here with regard to the glorious struggle in which you are engaged. I perfectly agree with Mr. O'CONNELL, that you should mix your cause up with nothing else; that you should go steadily on *making your case known* to the whole of the civilized world; and particularly to the people of England, whose prejudices, though deeply rooted, be you assured, will soon be removed. They will give way to the calls of truth and justice; and you will here find friends efficient and faithful.

In the meanwhile, temperate discussion, industrious exposure, facts judiciously collected and arranged, and circulated in the most extensive manner, will be the most effectual means that you can employ. I have had a great deal of experience in public matters; I have long been an observer of the workings of the public mind in England; and it gives me the greatest delight to be able to say with truth, that I never saw so great a change in that mind as I have witnessed with regard to Ire-

land within these last two years. Severe as were your sufferings of 1822; painful as they are to think of even now, they will finally produce the most beneficial effects. The people of England were astounded, they were stunned into reflection by the fact, the hideous fact, that whole parishes in Ireland were actually starving, while England's ports were crowded, and her markets lowered by the influx of Irish food. Such a phenomenon could not fail to make its way to the senses of the most thoughtless. There required no Parliamentary Committees and Reports to set people to thinking about the causes of such a horrid state of things. What! an army paid by England to keep the starving Irish quiet, while the ports of England were actually crammed with ships bearing to our shores Irish provisions, and while a general subscription was making throughout the country to purchase dribblets of *meal and potatoes*, to send to that very country which was filling the shops of all the towns of this island with bacon, pork, butter and bread! This unheard-of state of things; this state of things so far out of nature, set the people of this country to thinking. Your Association are developing the causes

of this state of things. We all now see that which we never before dreamed of. We are now tracing back to their causes these evils, of the origin of which we had before no idea.

Proceed, Gentlemen, as you have begun. Make your case known to the world. Leave the embodying of military force to SIR HARCOURT LEES. Bid your suffering countrymen to have patience a little longer; and be you and they perfectly convinced, that England will do you that justice which has been so long delayed, and which, when it shall be obtained, will, by every man who has gratitude in his heart, be ascribed to your fellow-labourer and countryman, Mr. O'CONNELL.

I am, Gentlemen,

With the greatest respect,

Your sincere Friend, and

Most obedient Servant,

WM. COBBETT.

P. S. A Correspondent has just reminded me of the *complaint* which the Irish Attorney-General made, the Session before last, in the House of Commons, relative to the way in which JURIES WERE FORMED IN DUBLIN! Is it, pray, before a jury, such as he described, on that occasion, that Mr. O'CONNELL is to

be brought by the direction of *this same Attorney-General*? There will be plenty of time hereafter to refer more particularly to the debate or proceedings to which I here allude. Be you assured, that the eyes of the English people are steadily and anxiously fixed upon these transactions..

Let me, since I have the pen again in hand, express to you my great pleasure at having heard the praises you bestow on Mr. JOHN SMITH. These praises flow from that *gratitude* which has always been a characteristic in the Irish people. He has been, since 1822, and then in particular, your *real* friend. His zeal, activity and humanity, on that trying occasion, are truly beyond all praise; and the *talent* which he displayed in the correspondence relative to the means of relieving the miseries of Ireland, reflects the highest honour on his mind. I do not know Mr. SMITH personally: he has, in his place in Parliament, *censured me*; but, I have recently read his letters addressed to the sufferers of that dismal day, and I should be ashamed of ~~my~~ *myself*; I could not view my own conduct without self-reproach, if I did not publicly join in those praises which your gratitude has so justly bestowed upon him.

I am pleased to see, too, that you do not overlook the important services of Mr. HUME. His motion relative to the *law-established Church of Ireland* has done much more than any single effort that I know of, to open the eyes of the English. Observe, too, that Mr. PLUNKETT was his ostensible and set opponent ! Never was triumph more complete than that of Mr. HUME. He gave us chapter and verse as to the root of all the woes of Ireland, and of one great cause of taxation in England. Indeed, what has he not done to give us, on both sides of the water, a true view of the workings of the THING ? You can have no idea of the *difficulties* that Mr. HUME has to contend with ; yet, his industry, his zeal, and his real solid talent overcame every thing.

Another subject of congratulation is, that you have fixed on SIR FRANCIS BURDETT to *present your petition* to the House of Commons. You are now, then, in the hands of an *English gentleman* of great patrimonial estates, wholly beyond the reach of every thing that leads to dirty compromise, and of talent (if he will but *bestir* himself) equal to this or to any other undertaking ; and that he will *bestir* himself *now*, it were almost impious to doubt. In his

very nature he abhors the "Orange-ruffian," true descendant of the *plunderer*. And how many English gentlemen are there of family as ancient even as he ; of fortune as ample ; of minds as independent ; abhorring the "Orange-ruffian" as cordially as he ; and yet how *silent* they are ! And that, too, at a moment when they *must* see, that if the troubles of Ireland be prolonged, the whole kingdom is menaced with ruin !

TO

MR. ALDERMAN DARLEY.

Kensington, 36th Dec. 1824.

SIR,

SEEING that your time must be so incessantly taken up with the weighty affairs of *arresting, holding to bail*, and the like, give me leave to be your purveyor of *news* ; and, as a beginning, pray accept from me the following little pithy paragraph from a New York paper of the 24th of November :—
 "OUR NAVY.—When Britain
 " attacked us, in 1812, we had
 " *six frigates* and *fourteen sloops*,
 " and other small ships of war.
 " We shall have, actually completed, by the end of 1826,
 " *twenty-two ships of the line*,
 " *thirty-seven frigates*, and more

"than a hundred smaller vessels." "Such is our progress in the short space of fourteen years! Our merchants cover the sea with their ships; and now those ships sail in security. We shall never again hear of American seamen impressed and flogged for refusing to fight against their country!"

"Well," say you, "and what is that to me?" Not much, perhaps, but a great deal to the King and the kingdom. Something that says, that it is not very wise to refuse to do that which will make us *one united people*. And, now for an anecdote to amuse you a little amidst your cares.

JAMES, the "Blue and Buff" historian, in his attempts to gloss over the disgraces of the late American war, says, that one cause of the success of the Americans was, that they had in their ships a great number of our seamen, "*chiefly Irish*;" and he tells us, that the unfortunate youth, DACRES, when captured by COM-MODORE HULL, saw one of our own seamen, "*an Irishman*," sitting on the deck of the American frigate, "*making bullets for the destruction of his countrymen*." And he adds, that, notwithstanding his (Dacres's *presence*) he proceeded with his work with "all

the coolness imaginable." I'll be sworn for him he did! PAT might have a very different view of things from that of JAMES and DACRES. PAT might be of the religion of his namesake, the Saint, and, preferring the post of captain, or admiral, to that of common sailor, he might not choose to remain where no skill, no valour, no devotion to King and country could make him either. Besides this, PAT might have a notion of his own about "*countrymen*," and might not call those his *countrymen*, who begin battles of Skibbereen, or who "*shoot fellows lurking in a shrubbery*."

It is too much to hope, that you will be able to find time for the reading of Essays on political economy, or I would recommend to you an attentive perusal of the following article on the probable fate of Bank-notes. But, enough for the present.

WM. COBBETT.

BANK NOTES.

I HAVE, over and over again, given it as my opinion, that the *Small Note Bill*, which was a *partial repeal of Peel's Bill*, would only provide a *respite*, and that the catastrophe would be

worse than if that Bill had gone into full effect. I have, amongst public writers, been, until now, perfectly singular in this opinion; but now, strange to relate, I am joined by the OLD TIMES newspaper. The article is in the form of a communication; but the Editor, by his preface, adopts the doctrine of his correspondent. There is a part of this article with regard to which I differ from the writer. His complaints about what he calls the "*Bank-monopoly*" are unfounded; and, as to his remedy, there is no remedy that will save the paper-system. But, in his main proposition, namely, that the Small Note Bill, if persevered in, will produce a blowing-up at once, or another *Bank restriction*, I entirely agree with him. He appears to possess knowledge, to which I have no pretension, as to the fact, that the gold has already begun to go out of the country. I know that it must go out of the country if the Small Note Bill continue in force, and if it do not continue in force, I know that the landlords will receive the *comp. de grace* in wheat at four shillings a bushel. It is confidently reported, that the ministers mean to permit an importation of corn with a duty. What duty? Let them put 20s. a quar-

ter on wheat, and that, even that, will ruin the landlords and farmers; for the wheat can then be imported for 50s. But, only let a run come on any considerable number of banks; and then there is no remedy, even for a day, but another *Bank "restriction;"* and, if that come, two prices follow instantly, in spite of laws as severe as those of Robespierre. This is the ticklish state in which the THING'S concerns are. I now insert this article from the OLD TIMES of the 8th instant, and I take the liberty to recommend it to the best attention of my readers.

ON THE AFFAIRS AND CONDUCT OF
THE BANK OF ENGLAND.

To the Editor of the *Times*,

"Money is neither Wig nor Tory."—Swift.

Sir,—The good people of these realms are destined to acquire great experience in all matters relating to currency: and deservedly, for none are more willing to pay for it, or possess to a greater degree that most invaluable cast of mind which constantly disposes men to reward those by whom they are cheated. But experience (says the old proverb) is a dear school, though fools will learn in no other; and therefore, as we confessedly have still much to learn, so will it naturally follow that we have much to pay for; *après le fait, sage Breton*.

More than five years have now elapsed since I addressed some letters to you on the subject of our Mint regulations and the Bank restriction; the former remain a

monument of human folly and absurdity; but of this, as a strictly scientific (and therefore dry and uninteresting) subject, I shall say nothing at present.

My present business is with the Bank of England. The restriction Act was repealed in 1819; the Bank has since resumed cash payments; every thing has appeared to go on smoothly and comfortably; and I little thought that I should again have to trouble you on this point: when, lo and behold! fresh matter arises; the Bank rushes headlong into a vast variety of engagements and undertakings, some of immense magnitude, others of less, but all of them at variance with every sound principle. It is, therefore, very far from impossible, that while others warble a "*Beatus ille*" (that is, "Blessed is the Bank Director"), you and I may have to chant the "*miserere*" of another restriction. But I will explain myself.

The first operation in which we find the Bank engaged since the resumption of cash payments, is the purchase from Government of a part of the annuity created for the defraying of the naval and military pensions. The part so purchased by the Bank was 585,740*l.*, and for which it agreed to pay in the following manner:—

1823—April . . .	£ 385,719
July . . .	1,225,000
October . . .	67,870
1824—January . . .	1,175,000
April . . .	67,370
July . . .	1,175,000
October . . .	27,870
1825—January . . .	1,135,000
April . . .	27,870
July . . .	1,130,370
1826—January . . .	1,097,870
July . . .	1,067,870
1827—January . . .	1,037,870
July . . .	992,870
1828—January . . .	947,870
July . . .	1,027,500

£13,089,419

Now, in consequence of this trans-

action, a very considerable addition has already been made to the paper-money of the country; from the same cause it is regularly increasing, and by the time the transaction is completed, the addition will be enormous.

Now I say nothing on the measure itself, except that it was perfectly useless, for if it had been necessary to borrow at all, why not borrow from the sinking fund, and construct a new sinking fund out of the naval and military pensions as they fell in and became extinct? The expedient was simple, the country might equally have been relieved from taxes, it would not have had the annuity to pay during 45 years, and still a sinking fund of this description (taking the rate of interest at 4 per cent.) would have amounted at the expiration of the 45 years, to upwards of 240,000,000*l.*

But, leaving all this out of the question, why sell this annuity to the Bank, and not to the public? Because the public, though partial to perpetual annuities, is averse to the purchase of annuities for a term of years. But the nature of things will not be changed, and, whether in a terminable or a perpetual annuity, to borrow is still to borrow; the two modes stand in a certain defined, fixed relation to each other. To compare the value of an annuity for a term of years with a perpetual annuity is easy; and therefore, if the public objected to lend money on annuities for a term of years, why not borrow in perpetual annuities?

But let us proceed. The next operation in which we find the Bank engaged is the making advances on the security of landed property: what these advances may amount to I do not know, but they are supposed to be about 2,000,000*l.*

The next expedient hit upon in order to increase the issues of Bank paper, is to make advances upon funded property, *nouveau genre de folie*! The extent of these advances I am at a loss to determine: it may

be two, but it certainly does not fall short of one million; but be it what it will, it is an addition to the general mass of paper.

I might go on, but where so many points remain to be discussed, we must be short on each: add, then, to all I have stated, the advances made by the Bank to the dissentients in the operation of reducing the 4 per cents. and its regular advances to Government on Exchequer-bills, and you will find a mass of paper far exceeding what would have circulated in the natural course of things, and which must therefore necessarily interfere with the usual and ordinary transactions of the community. There is also one observation which is applicable to all these transactions—viz. that they are completely at variance with the original purposes for which the Bank was established, and with every sound principle of banking.

To this it is said that the trade of the Bank in discounts falls off, and that therefore it has recourse to these expedients in order to increase its issues. But whose fault is this? and who will apply to it for discount, when money may be had in the streets? And this shows the folly of the system; for in a regular state of things, whenever the currency is deficient, great and frequent applications are made to the Bank for discounts, and this soon cures the evil; but our present system is the very reverse of this, and leads to very different consequences: for we first create money, and then, instead of waiting for solid customers and a regular demand, we attempt by every possible species of quackery to force it into circulation. At length we succeed, and then we immediately cry out that the applications for discount diminish; that is, we first overstock the market with money, and then, in pure simplicity of soul, we wonder that people do not ask for more.

Then again it is contended, that the Bank has a large capital and

great resources, and that, keeping within certain limits, it has a right to employ this capital as it pleases. Now all this is very easily said, and perhaps not quite so easily answered. Involved in the gloom of a mysterious intricate system, the Bank studiously withholds all knowledge of its affairs from the public; but here and there, through chinks and crannies, light breaks; a few leading facts, which can be neither misrepresented nor controverted, jut out as promontories to direct us in our course; and therefore, though we cannot speak with the utmost accuracy and precision, yet I believe it will be found that we know quite enough of the affairs of the Bank for all the purposes of illustration.

The original capital of the Bank, and subsequent additions to this capital, amounting altogether to 14,686,800*l.*, is lent to Government at 3 per cent.; here, therefore, the Bank stands in the simple relation of a fundholder, and this is not property of which the Bank stands possessed, but property that it has parted with, and in lieu of which it receives an annuity; it is not available for any of its present operations, nor is it indeed available for any purpose whatever, because the money has been long since spent and gone; and before it can be returned by Government to the Bank, it must be raised by loan or taxes on the public; and, therefore, though this capital so lent by the Bank to Government may be a good security for the ultimate solvency of the Bank, yet it is no security whatever against the suspension of cash payments: it was not so in Mr. Pitt's time, and at the period of the last suspension, nor will it be in any other.

Come we then to the active disposable capital of the Bank—to that capital, in short, which alone is applicable to its present transactions.

When the affairs of the Bank were investigated in the year 1819, the Bank Directors delivered in a statement, dated the 31st of March, 1819,

and by which it appeared that the then capital of the Bank was 5,231,190*l*.

Since that time the Bank has made profits, and on the other hand has paid dividends to its proprietors; but by the considerable reduction in the rate of interest in general, and particularly on all Government securities, the profits of the Bank must have materially diminished; and, including the remuneration for the payment of the dividends, and the interest it receives on its capital lent to Government, I do not believe (its own expenses deducted) that the annual average net profits of the Bank since 1810 have exceeded 900,000*l*, and certainly not 1,200,000*l*. Take them, however, at the latter sum, and then the account will stand thus:—

The active capital of the Bank, according to the statement dated the 31st of March, 1819, was - - - - -	£5,231,190
Add profits made from April, 1819, till October, 1824, at the rate of 1,200,000 <i>l</i> . per ann.	6,600,000
	<hr/>
	£11,831,190
Deduct 4 yearly dividends of 10 per cent. on 14,686,800 <i>l</i> .	£5,874,720
Deduct 2 yearly dividends of 8 per cent. on the same sum -	2,349,888
	<hr/>
	8,224,608
	<hr/>
Remains -	£3,606,582

It would therefore appear that the active capital of the Bank is at present only about 3½ millions.

Now I believe that nothing I have here said can be materially or substantially contradicted. The item of 5,231,190*l*. is founded on the Bank's own statement; and that its profits since 1819 must have materially diminished, not only from the resumption of cash payments, but also from

the great decline in the rate of interest on all Government securities, is, I believe, past all question. And, indeed, if this were not the case, where was the necessity to reduce the annual dividend from 10 to 8 per cent.? But I have no wish to exaggerate; the profits of the Bank may have been greater than I have stated; I am willing to be in error, and to allow (what I do not believe) that the profits of the Bank have been such as to admit of the dividends it has made since 1819 without the least diminution of its then active capital; and then I will leave it to the determination of any prudent, considerate, sober-minded man, whether, upon the foundation of so limited a capital as five millions, the Bank of England is warranted in entering into such stupendous engagements and operations.

But then there is a great deal of gold in the country. This is not quite so certain. On the contrary, I am fully persuaded that all the gold in the country does not exceed fourteen, and certainly not sixteen, millions. How this is divided between the Bank and the public is not very easily determined: perhaps about five or six millions may be deposited in the coffers of the Bank, and the remainder in circulation, and in the hands of the public. But at the period of the suspension in 1797, upwards of thirty millions of gold currency existed in the country, and yet Mr. Pitt, merely by borrowing about ten millions from the Bank, caused it to stop payment.

Then, again, we are told that some or all of the new mining associations are to introduce large quantities of gold from Mexico. Very likely; but this gold is not yet concocted, it is gold *in futuro*, and as far as the fact stands at present, the whole idea is ridiculous; because at this present moment of time large quantities of both gold and silver are on their passage from this country to Mexico, Colombia, and the Brazils. Indeed, these Mexicans and Colombians are

most excellent customers to the people of this country, for not only are they content to take our goods, but they are willing to take our money into the bargain. What a pity it is that they are not also willing to take the notes of the Governor and Company of the Bank of England! But somehow or other this is a commodity which foreigners do not rate quite so highly as ourselves. Thus, if I go to Paris with 100 sovereigns, I am sure to receive from 2,515 to 2,520 francs; but if I take a 100*l.* Bank-note, I shall only get about 2,490 francs; and therefore, in the estimation of a Frenchman at least, Bank-notes are at a discount.

But, get gold from Mexico, or the moon, or where you like, and where is the utility? You will only receive it *intransitu*, and it will immediately be exported to other countries. It is a maxim in currency, that the money which is worthless or of inferior value will drive out that which is good. How, then, is gold to remain in the country when the currency is already redundant? And as to export, the paper would be of no utility (because nothing could be had in return for it), it is evident that the gold must be sent out. During the restriction immense quantities of gold and silver were imported, and yet the whole disappeared, and along with it all the gold currency of the country.

Now let us view the matter in another light: let us contrast the state of things produced by these operations of the Bank, with that state which exists when things are left to themselves, and in their natural order.

Thus, if the money borrowed by Government of the Bank for defraying the naval and military pensions had been borrowed of the public, the latter would have advanced a real capital, and the amount of currency would have remained the same; but when the same transaction is entered into with the Bank of England, the case is altered immediately, because

the Bank, having no capital to lend, does, and can, in reality, only furnish the Government with a certain amount of paper: and then, as a result of the operation, an immediate addition is made to the paper currency of the country, and which but for this would not have existed; and which clearly is not necessary, because the quantity of commodities still remains the same; the operation itself neither tends to increase nor diminish them; that they should circulate, at their fair natural value, no additional quantity of currency was therefore necessary; and therefore, the quantity of commodities remaining the same while the quantity and amount of currency is increased, it is quite evident that the natural tendency of that operation which borrows paper from the Bank instead of capital from the public, is necessarily to raise the money value of commodities: and this is the natural tendency of every jobbing transaction which takes place between Government and the Bank of England.

So, again, when the 4 per cents. were reduced, the Bank by paying the dissentients, in reality advanced nothing: but there was merely a certain quantity and amount of Bank paper added to that which already existed: whereas, if the money to pay the dissentients had been borrowed from the public, the currency would not have been affected. And why this was not done I am at a loss to imagine; for upon what grounds and on what pretence do we reduce the 4 per cents? Simply because the rate of interest is reduced. Borrow then at a reduced rate of interest—not in rags, but in reality; borrow from the public that has something to lend, and not from the Bank that has nothing.

Again: when money is advanced by individuals on mortgage, this money is lent in a currency which already exists, which passes from hand to hand, and is applicable to this and every other purpose of the community: but let the same advances be

made by the Bank, and immediately the quantity of money in circulation is augmented, because the advance is made in paper created expressly for the occasion, and which but for this would never have existed.

Finally, let advances on funded property be made by individuals, and the amount of currency will remain unaltered; but let the same advances be made by the Bank, and immediately the amount of currency will be augmented.

Now let us endeavour to ascertain the present amount of the legal currency of the country, and compare it with the greatest amount of money in circulation during the war. I am aware that to do this exactly is impossible, because the Bank, true to its system of mystery and concealment, obtained leave, (I believe) during the last session of Parliament, to withhold all knowledge of its issues from the public; but here again we know enough for the purposes of illustration; and if I err, it shall not be wilfully, or to favour my own hypothesis.

The average amount of Bank-notes in circulation during the last nine months, may, I think, at the highest, be estimated at 26 millions, and at the lowest at 22 millions; and therefore I might take the mean, and estimate it at 24 millions, but I will take it at 22 millions—I will even take it at 20 millions; and it is quite impossible, I believe, with the least regard to truth, to rate it below this amount. To this must be added the gold and silver currency; and all this together will furnish us with the following statement:—

Bank-notes in circulation	£20,000,000
Total amount of gold currency, about	- - - 14,000,000
Ditto of silver currency, about	- - - 6,000,000
Total	£40,000,000
Deduct the amount of gold currency in the coffers of the Bank	- 6,000,000
Remains	£34,000,000

And therefore the total amount of the legal currency of the country in circulation amounts, I believe, at the lowest to 34,000,000*l*.

Now let us look at the state of our currency during the war and the late restriction.

The period during the late war at which our paper currency stood the highest was in the year 1813, and there was also, during that year, raised by loan for the public service the enormous sum of 27,000,000*l*.

Now the average amount of Bank-notes in circulation during the year 1813 was 23,612,300*l*.; there was not a particle of gold coin in circulation. The average price of gold during the year was 5*l*. 6*s*. per ounce, and therefore the Bank-note was worth only 14*s*. 3*d*.; and therefore the real value of the 23,612,300*l*., when reduced into gold, or into paper on a par with gold, was only 17,315,686*l*. 13*s*. 4*d*. Add now to this about five millions (at the very utmost) in Bank tokens and a depreciated silver currency, and you will have a total amount of legal currency for the year 1813 of about 22,000,000*l*. and then the conclusion is irresistible; and if during a period of war, of great Government expenditure, heavy loans, excessive taxation, and difficult communication with other parts of the world, a currency of 22,000,000*l*. was sufficient for all the purposes of the community, it is quite certain that during a period of profound peace, reduced taxes, and a prompt and easy communication with all parts of the world, a currency of 34,000,000*l*. must be redundant.

But we want no calculations, we are under no necessity to prove, or even to inquire into the actual amount of our currency; for the fact being that the real (not the nominal) exchange has for this some time past been below par, and that gold has been regularly exported to France and other parts of the continent, this alone is conclusive evidence that the currency is redundant.

Now, leave the public out of the question, and view the matter *in se*, and with relation to the Bank alone.

The Bank was instituted for the purpose of discounting merchants' acceptances, and against these it issued its notes; does it discount merchants' acceptances now?—Certainly. To a large extent?—Very trifling; and indeed so trifling, that nine-tenths, and perhaps nineteen-twentieths of the Bank circulation is founded not on merchants' acceptances, but on land and on Government securities. But does it consist with any sound principle of banking, that nineteen-twentieths, or even nine-tenths of the issues of an establishment which prides itself on its solidity and good conduct, should be founded on securities which before they can become assets must first be sold in the market?

Now look at the extreme ridicule of the thing. Is it in the nature of things that land should circulate and float up and down the country in the shape of Bank-notes? Or does it consist with right reason that Government securities should become the currency of the country through the instrumentality of Bank paper? But it will be said that this was the case during the war and the late restriction. No doubt; but the war is at an end, and the act of 1819 repealed the restriction, and all the state doctors assured us that we should recover our senses. But I see how matters stand; and as the dog returns to his vomit, so is it intended that we should again be brought to take up with this vile trash of a paper currency.

But how is this a public question, or how does it concern the public that the Bank should make advances on land, and on property in the funds? Not at all, provided these advances be made in real capital; but by advancing mere paper, which costs nothing, but which the law acknowledges as money, and which in point of fact performs all the functions of money, the relation which

before subsisted between money and commodities is destroyed; money, from its greater abundance, becomes cheaper, and commodities become dearer; while all this time no one real thing, not one single particle of wealth is added to the public stock, and there is merely a certain profit made by the Bank, which, somehow or other, must come out of the pockets of the people.

Now, mark the progress of the operation: first, by means of a mortgage of land, or advances on Government securities, a certain quantity of money is thrown into the market which otherwise would not have existed; and then, as the instrument is ready to the hand, and that this money must be employed, we immediately begin to think of speculating in commodities, or to form some new company, and so the public is deluded; and therefore this is directly and essentially a public question, and one in which every plain, honest, industrious man in the kingdom is interested.

"It cannot, and it will not come to good." But I will neither break my heart nor hold my tongue; but as long as this frail body draws breath, and in utter disregard of all consequences, I will continue to deprecate a system which tends to raise the price of the poor man's loaf of bread, and to abridge his comforts.

And now upon the whole matter. We have seen what the Bank has undertaken, the truly slender means at its disposal to enable it to carry such gigantic operations into effect; we have ascertained that our currency is redundant; and we have also seen the way in which a most unnatural influx of currency must necessarily influence the transactions of the community. And are we, then, so unskilled in the signs of the times, that we must yet wait for a sign from Heaven? Do we wonder that corn has risen—that land has risen—that the exchange for this some time past has been declining, and is now below par;—that gold is regularly exported

—that new companies spring up one after the other like mushrooms—and that the abundance of paper, and the consequent facility with which it may be obtained, is the signal and sanction for every wild and desperate species of adventure?—Where, then, shall we be, if (in addition to all I have stated) this country should next year require an importation of foreign corn? And what is there then to prevent the Bank from suspending cash payments?

But is this system to be continued? I believe so. Hitherto, at least, there is not the slightest indication of a change. Ask the Bank for money on mortgage: it is granted. Ask for an advance on consols: you have it immediately. In making advances upon stock, there is, however, one part of the conduct of the Bank which is highly deserving of approbation: there is no exception of persons; but you are greeted with a “Walk in, gentlemen; the cash is ready: first come, first served,—whether it be a lord or a chimney-sweeper.”

But is there no remedy? A very simple one. The Bank must recall a part of its issues; and the sooner it does this the better: but if the present course be persisted in, then that impulse which has already been given to things, and which now creeps as a canker, will become too powerful to be checked, and we shall have a *catastrophe*, and *this very shortly, if the country should require an importation of foreign corn; but something later, though with equal certainty, if this importation should not be necessary.* The eyes of the public will then be opened, and the monopoly of the Bank of England will be put down as a public nuisance.

There is therefore no alternative, and no means exist to avert the impending evil, and to restore the equilibrium of things, but to reduce the Bank issues. The same cause, generally speaking, will produce the same effect; and if Mr. Pitt, merely

by borrowing about 10,000,000*l.* from the Bank in 1797, caused it to stop payment, the same and other jobbing transactions of the like nature, but to a still greater extent, will inevitably now lead to the same result.

Every reliance, I know, may be placed on the honour and integrity of the Bank Directors, but this is not sufficient; new maxims prevail, and this is an era of speculation and experiment. Uncertain therefore, as to the course they will adopt, let us be prepared for a *dénouement*; and as we shall in that case have to travel again over the same ground, it will not be amiss that we consider the nature and effects of our paper currency during the late restrictions: and this I will do, if I have time, and you will allow me space in your columns.

In the mean time, what shall we do with the large establishment on Tower-hill (the Mint)? Shall we shut it up at once in order to save expense? or shall we convert it into a paper-manufactory? Talk, indeed, of coining money, and of a perfect mathematical system of currency! Talk of rags, and egg-shells, and eel skins, and leave the currency of the country (where it has been before) in the hands of the Governor and Company of the Bank of England. You will be sure of a plentiful supply *usque ad nauseam*.

DANIEL HARDCASTLE.

ORANGE-ALARMS.

AN Orange miscreant, who was closely connected with another Orange miscreant in this country *who cut his own throat*, and who ought to have been flung out into some ditch to be devoured by the fowls of the air, has, it seems,

been hard at work to hatch up something to be called a treasonable plot, in the county of Galway in Ireland. This miscreant has not succeeded, however, and the *High Sheriff of the county* has published a paper, expressing his indignation, together with that of other gentlemen of the same county, at the rumours which the Orange miscreants had set about, declaring the county to be perfectly tranquil, and the people full of loyalty and of obedience to the laws.

I here insert the letter of Lord DONOUGHMORE, in answer to the Secretary of the Catholic Association, who had forwarded to his lordship, the Catholic Petition to be presented to the House of Lords during the next session. This letter of my Lord DONOUGHMORE is the best answer that can be given to the COURIER, the smutty and punning "JOHN BULL," who calls upon England "to conquer Ireland again," and to all the abuse which has been heaped upon Mr. O'CONNELL and the Catholic Association. If any man want more, for this purpose, than this letter, that man is unworthy of attention.

" Knocklofty, December 15, 1824.

" DEAR SIR.—YOUR Letter of
" the 2d instant, and the accom-

panying copy of the Petition,
" which my Catholic Countrymen
" have done me the honour of
" placing again in my hands, and
" which, according to the common
" course of the post, ought to have
" reached me on yesterday, I had
" not the honour of receiving until
" just now, as I should have con-
" sidered it most unjustifiable on
" my part to have made any, the
" least delay, in replying to such
" a communication. Honored as
" I feel myself by this renewal of
" their confidence, I cannot with
" truth allege any increased zeal
" in that cause, which I have ever
" felt as if it had been my own,
" and which has descended upon
" me as the especial cause of my
" country, and almost as a part of
" my inheritance. I will not how-
" ever, deny the increased expect-
" tations of more prompt success,
" which I have had the satisfac-
" tion of being induced to form,
" from the talents and energies
" which have been exhibited by
" the Catholic Association, which
" have united every member of
" that suffering community, Lay,
" and Ecclesiastical, in pursuit of
" the same great object, and have
" animated their fellow sufferers
" on the other side of the channel
" with a portion of their own fire.
" —You have represented your

"privations and your claims in the
 "language of incontrovertable
 "truth and undeniable justice;
 "and I must conclude with this
 "conscientious declaration, which
 "I feel from the bottom of my
 "heart, '*Magna est veritas et pre-*
 "*valebit.*'

"I have the honour to be,

"Dear Sir,

"Your faithful humble Servant,

"DONOUGHMORE.

"*Nicholas Purcell O'Gorman.*"

BANKS BREAKING.

THE following articles give us another instance of the folly as well as of the baseness of those who keep paper-money in their hands when they can, if they will, have gold in its stead. "We regret
 "to say, that intelligence was re-
 "ceived here yesterday of the
 "stoppage of the old-established
 "and respectable banking firm
 "of Messrs. Prodgers, Ludlow.
 "Messrs. Prodgers drew upon
 "the house of Marsh, Graham,
 "Stracey, Fauntleroy, and Co.,
 "and upon the failure of that
 "concern, they experienced, as
 "did most of the provincial banks
 "connected with it, a very severe
 "run. This they withstood, and
 "the prompt manner in which
 "they satisfied every demand

"upon that occasion, restored
 "them in the public confidence.
 "The exact cause of their being
 "compelled to the present pain-
 "ful step of suspending their pay-
 "ments *is not understood*; (we
 "have heard it attributed to their
 "being unexpectedly called upon
 "to refund a large sum of trust
 "money which they held in their
 "hands, before time had been al-
 "lowed them to recover from the
 "consequences of the run), but
 "from the known integrity of the
 "house, and the reputed opulence
 "of its members, we trust it will
 "be found that its difficulties are
 "only temporary." — *Worcester Herald.*

Oh! you "*regret*" it, do you. Very far am I from regretting it. The exact cause, you say, of this stoppage, "*is not understood.*" Not by *you*; but very well understood by me, and very clearly explained by me to the public over and over again. The fellows had got more paper-money out than they had the means of taking up when it was presented. That is the cause of their stoppage; and what other cause ought to be looked after? The Parliament, by passing the Small Note Bill, by which PEARL'S BILL was *partially repealed*, encourage these and other such fellows to put forth

fresh bales of paper-money. This raised prices, and made the jolter-heads chuckle. But, first or last, this paper must come back. It cannot be kept out for any length of time without driving the gold out of the country. It is pressing hard in that direction now. When the country-banker is now called upon to take up his paper, the holder of that paper may DEMAND GOLD. A Bank-of-England note is not now a legal tender as it used to be. You may demand the gold in exchange for the country bank note; and whenever this demand shall become any thing like general, the thing is at an end.

BISHOP JOCELYN,

OR,

A PRETTY SCENE IN A PROTESTANT CHURCH.

I copy from the newspapers the following pretty little article:—
“On Sunday evening last, at
“Mary-la-bonne Church, after
“divine service was finished, and
“the congregation on the eve of
“retiring, a gentleman got up in
“the centre of the middle aisle,
“and there read aloud the following words:—‘*Oyez, oyez, oyez!*
“‘(calling on the Bishop) come
“‘forth and surrender yourself to

“‘the Sheriff of Middlesex, on
“‘the Octave of Saint Hilary,
“‘for a certain misdemeanor,
“‘or you will be outlawed.’—
“This notice is also *posted on the*
“*door.*”

This is, to be sure, a very pretty scene to be viewed in a Protestant Church in the metropolis of England. But, if this ceremony were necessary with regard to the unnatural and monstrous BISHOP JOCELYN, when is it to be performed, I wonder, with regard to JOHN MOVELLY, the soldier of the Coldstream Guards, who was the beastly JOCELYN’s beastly companion? Will no man move, in Parliament, in order to find out by what means that soldier avoided the arm of the law? It is well known that he was bailed out of prison. Who paid the forfeited bail? Who were his bail? How did he get away? How is he returned to the War-office? Is he returned as discharged, deserted, or dead?

However, this matter shall not thus drop. The moment I have a little leisure, I will put into a *three-penny book*, a complete history of this transaction. SOUTHEY, the author of *JOAN OF ARC*, and of *WAT TYLER*, and of the *Life of WESLEY*, has written and published what he calls “*the book of*

the Church." I will write "*the book of the Bishop*" of that same Church. I will have that book of the Bishop translated into French, and I will give it all the circulation that lies in my power. If these two enormous criminals, the Bishop and the Soldier, had undergone the sentence of the law; if they had met with the fate which others meet with, guilty of the same crime, I should have said, "let them rot with infamy attached to their names;" but, seeing what has taken place, the press, as far as I have power over it, shall do its best to render them justice. I shall get this "*book of the Bishop*" out in the course of the winter, and shall sell it, as I said before, for three-pence; so that it may be within the reach of every one. This is due to truth and justice; it is due to the miscreant Orangemen, who exulted with joy while the flesh was tearing from the back of poor BYRNE, and who gave marks of peculiar exultation while the poor fellow was dragged along by the statue of William the Third, whom the Orangemen call "THE DELIVERER."

PROTESTANT REFORMATION.

Forty thousand copies of this work (each Number of it) will have

been printed in a few days. The second Number is published this day (30th December). The third will be published on the 30th of January, and so on, month after month. To prepare the French translation for the press has required a little more time than I expected. The translation of the first Number will, for this reason, not be published until Saturday the eighth of January, 1825.—I observed, in my last, that I should leave the Catholic Association to have the French republished at Paris, if they chose. But, an occasion appears to offer for my getting it done there with little or no difficulty. I shall, therefore, take the necessary steps for the purpose. It will probably be ten days or a fortnight before I shall know for a certainty that I can have it done. When I do know for a certainty, I will give information of it in the Register. If it can be done without any expense to the Association, that will be the best way, and certainly the most pleasing to me.

I think it necessary to notice here, that I have forwarded a quantity of both the first and second Number of the Reformation to MR. J. C. SCULLY, bookseller, No. 35, Upper Ormond Quay, Dublin; to whom I have also sent

some copies of my *English Grammar*, *French Grammar*, *Year's Residence in America*, *Cottage Economy*, and, I believe, some other books. To several gentlemen, who have written to me from Ireland to send them books, I beg leave, in the first place, to present my thanks, and, in the next place, to give them the following information: that it would be very inconvenient for me to have several booksellers or others to send books to in Ireland; that I, therefore, shall send to Mr. SCULLY *only*; and that I have agreed with him, to sell at the same retail price, to make the same allowances to the trade, and to do every thing the same as is done in Fleet-street; so that any person in Ireland may be supplied by him upon exactly the same terms as if supplied by me.

With regard to the *Political Register*, I have been extremely anxious, that it should have a *quick*, a convenient, and a cheap circulation in Ireland. I am, therefore, in negotiation with Mr. STAUNTON, of No. 4, Suffolk-Street, in order to effect this object. It is very clear, that, if the Register were re-published in Ireland, I should lose something by that; and, indeed, something considerable. I have nothing but

what I earn, I wish to have nothing but what I earn, and I do not wish to be rigid even in the securing of those earnings. I have always made great sacrifices to what I deem the public good; and, as I look upon the people of Ireland as more fully entitled to sacrifices of this sort than any other people that I have ever known in the world, I am willing to make greater sacrifices for what I deem to be their good, than I have ever made in any other case. My offer, therefore, to Mr. STAUNTON, is, in fact, almost a leaving of it to himself, how much he shall pay me for permission to reprint and republish the Register in Ireland regularly.

I expect his answer in a few days; and, in the meanwhile, he has my permission to publish this Register, as he had to publish the last Register, and, in order that no obstacle may be thrown in the way, I shall write him word that he has my permission to republish the next Register free of all cost to him.

The affairs of Ireland now press themselves upon us with a force that nothing can resist. It will, especially during the ensuing Session of Parliament, be of the greatest importance, that the people of that country be kept con-

stantly truly informed of what is passing here, and especially as far as it relates to themselves. The Register will necessarily contain the matter which will be useful to them. It cannot circulate amongst them directly from me; and, therefore, I am extremely solicitous that it should be republished in Dublin; to which let me add, that there is this motive besides, that I shall reflect with some degree of pleasure that I am giving some little employment to paper-makers and printers in Ireland.

I will here, though it has nothing to do with the subject before me, except that it relate to the republishing of books, hold up an AMERICAN BOOKSELLER to the indignation of every man who shall read this Register. Amongst my labours, is a *Treatise on Gardening*. This Book, of which we have published several editions in England, and of which I have sent two editions to America, has been reprinted and republished at Baltimore by a man whose name is J. ROBINSON. I am persuaded, that though the law would have allowed it, there is scarcely a bookseller in England would have been guilty of this act of demi-piracy; and I am sure that there is no one who would have done it without writing to the au-

thor, a letter of thanks at the least; but it is not on grounds like these that I should have complained of an American bookseller: from that quarter, I should have expected very little in the way of ceremony. But, those who have read this Treatise, must have seen that it was written in part, at least, to convey a mark of great respect and of gratitude to a lady, who and whose family, I had the good fortune to have as neighbours in Long Island. When I sent the book forth, I really thought ten thousand times more, I sat ten thousand times more value upon, this only return that I had it then in my power to make for all the kindness that I and my family had received at the hands of the lady in question and her family; ten thousand times more value than I did from any expected profits of the book. Now, what should this miscreant "*J. Robinson*" do, but reprint every part of the book EXCEPT THE DEDICATION! I could almost find in my heart to go over to Baltimore and wring, if I were able, the scoundrel's head from his shoulders. He has, it seems, some associates or partners at the town of Frederick in Maryland: and I hereby confer on the whole of them the appellation of mean and mercenary blackguards.

TURNPIKE TOLLS.

On the twenty-fifth of last month my eldest Son (Mr. William Cobbett jun.) applied to the Magistrates at their Petty Sessions at Dartford in Kent, against the toll-collectors of the lessees of the tolls on that road. His application was to produce witnesses to show, that the said collectors had taken too much toll in two particular instances, the penalty for doing which was, according to the act, *five pounds* for each offence. The lessees of the tolls employed Mr. ADOLPHUS to appear at the Petty Sessions in their behalf. Mr. ADOLPHUS contended, that the information ought to have been laid within *three months* of the commission of the offence. My Son contended, that the act allowed a *twelvemonth*. The Magistrates acted upon the opinion of Mr. ADOLPHUS, and refused to hear the evidence tendered by my Son. At the same time, the learned gentleman told my Son that if he were dissatisfied he might apply for a *mandamus* to compel the Magistrates to hear the witnesses. *Here, also, his opinion was acted upon.* The *mandamus* was moved for during the last term, by Mr. FRENCH, and their Lordships granted the rule to show cause,

which rule was duly served upon the Magistrates. Now, behold the salutary effects of acting upon Mr. ADOLPHUS' opinion. The Magistrates, by their Attorney in London, made a tender to my Son of *TWENTY POUNDS*, on condition of dropping all further proceedings on the subject. This, of course, could not, without showing a litigious spirit be rejected. Here was a sum amply sufficient to meet the two demanded penalties, and also to meet the expenses attending the motion for the rule. The public will want nothing further to assure them, that the Magistrates had well ascertained the fact, that they had done wrong in refusing to hear the evidence. The question may, therefore, be looked upon as settled; that as the law now stands, *twelve months* and not *three months*, are allowed for the laying of information for offences of this sort. I mean to impute no blame to Mr. ADOLPHUS. He did his duty to his client in persuading the Magistrates that they were acting right; and they, perhaps, are not greatly censurable for having deemed his interpretation of the law preferable to that of the gentleman not at the bar, but who happened, in this case, to understand the law a little better than themselves.

MARKETS.

Average Prices of CORN throughout ENGLAND, for the week ending Dec. 18.

Per Quarter.

	s.	d.		s.	d.
Wheat ..	65	11	Oats	24	0
Rye	42	8	Beans ...	42	7
Barley ..	42	5	Peas	48	9

Corn Exchange, Mark Lane.

Quantities and Prices of British Corn, &c. sold and delivered in this Market, during the week ended Saturday, Dec. 18.

	Qrs.	£.	s.	d.	Average,	s.	d.
Wheat	9,271 for 31,255	0	10	67	5		
Barley	9,254....20,247	7	2	43	9		
Oats	5,670....7,834	10	11	27	7		
Rye	24....45	12	0	38	0		
Beans	1,295....2,751	10	3	42	5		
Pease	2,387....6,587	1	5	55	2		

Friday, Dec. 24.—The arrivals of all sorts of Grain this week are only small, owing chiefly to contrary winds. There is rather more life in the Wheat trade, at 1s. to 2s. per quarter advance in prices on the best samples. Fine Barley is rather looking upward. Beans and Peas sell on much the same terms as last quoted. Oats find few buyers at Monday's prices.

Monday, Dec. 27.—The weather having been boisterous during the past week, the arrivals of all sorts of Corn were moderate. This morning the fresh supplies consist chiefly of small quantities of Wheat, Barley,

Beans, and Peas, from Essex and Kent, but there is very little Corn fresh up from other parts. There was an eager demand for fine Wheat this morning, and advances were obtained for such to the extent of 3s. to 4s. per quarter on the terms of last Monday, and all other qualities partake of the improvement.

The Barley trade is very lively, and 1s. to 2s. per quarter higher than this day se'nnight. Beans that are dry command an advance of 1s. per quarter. Boiling Peas are 2s. per quarter dearer. Grey Peas are rather higher. Oats sell more freely than last week, and they are advanced 1s. per quarter. Flour is 5s. per sack higher. Bonded Wheat is 4s. to 5s. per quarter dearer.

Price on board Ship as under.

Flour, per sack	.....65s. — 70s.
— Seconds	.....60s. — 65s.
— North Country	..55s. — 58s.

Account of Wheat, &c. arrived in the Port of London, from Dec. 20 to Dec. 25, both inclusive.

	Qrs.		Qrs.
Wheat...	4,783	Tares.....	—
Barley ..	3,489	Linseed ..	—
Malt	3,811	Rapeseed..	—
Oats	5,479	Brank	34
Beans ...	901	Mustard ..	—
Flour ..	7,357	Flax	—
Rye.....	—	Hemp	—
Peas	1,648	Seeds	—

Total Quantity of Corn returned as
Sold in the Maritime Districts, for
the Week ended Dec. 18.

	Qrs.		Qrs.
Wheat	..49,508	Oats	....25,729
Rye	.....153	Beans	....4,853
Barley	..60,739	Peas	....4,410

Price of HOPS per Cwt. in the
Borough.

Monday, Dec. 27.—Our Hop
market remains steady, but little do-
ing, prices are firm: in New Pockets
our late sales are at rather improved
prices. Currency, Sussex, 6*l.* 6*s.* to
7*l.*; Kent 6*l.* 12*s.* to 8*l.*

Price of Bread.—The price of the
4*lb.* Loaf is stated at 11*d.* by the
full-priced Bakers.

City, 29th December, 1824.

BACON.

The trade is exceedingly dull. On
Board, 56*s.* to 58*s.*—Landed, 60*s.*
to 61*s.*

BUTTER.

Notwithstanding the non-arrival
of Foreign Butter, owing to contrary
winds, our market is very heavy,
and, upon the whole, declining.
There is a general want of confi-
dence, and not without cause. Prices
on Board are *nominal*. Landed:

Carlow, 100*s.* to 102*s.*; Waterford,
96*s.* to 98*s.*; Dublin, or Limerick,
95*s.* to 98*s.*; no Dutch; some infe-
rior Foreign, at 90*s.* to 100*s.*

CHEESE.

Old Cheshire, 80*s.* to 90*s.*; New,
66*s.* to 74*s.*; Derby, 63*s.* to 66*s.*;
Double Gloster, 60*s.* to 68*s.*; Single,
54*s.* to 64*s.*

SMITHFIELD, Monday, Dec. 27.

Per Stone of 8 pounds (alive).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef	.....3	10	to	4 10
Mutton	....4	4	—	5 0
Veal	.....5	6	—	6 6
Pork	.....5	0	—	6 0

Beasts1,217 | Sheep ..11,777
Calves.... 88 | Pigs..... 1 3

NEWGATE, (same day.)

Per Stone of 8 pounds (dead).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef	.....3	0	to	4 0
Mutton	....3	4	—	4 0
Veal	.....4	0	—	6 0
Pork	.....4	0	—	6 0

LEADENHALL, (same day.)

Per Stone of 8 pounds (dead).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef	.....2	10	to	4 0
Mutton	....3	4	—	4 0
Veal	.....3	8	—	6 0
Pork	.....4	4	—	6 8

POTATOES.**SPITALFIELDS.—per Ton.**

Ware	£ 3 10 to £5 10
Middlings.....	2 5 — 2 10
Chats.....	2 5 — 0 0
Common Red..	0 0 — 0 0

BOROUGH.—per Ton.

Ware.....	£3 10 to £5 10
Middlings.....	2 0 — 2 15
Chats.....	2 0 — 2 5
Common Red..	3 10 — 4 10

HAY and STRAW, per Load.

<i>Smithfield.</i> —Hay....	60s. to 100s.
Straw...	36s. to 42s.
Clover...	80s. to 120s.
<i>St. James's.</i> —Hay....	62s. to 100s.
Straw ..	33s. to 42s.
Clover...	70s. to 110s.
<i>Whitechapel.</i> —Hay....	70s. to 100s.
Straw...	36s. to 42s.
Clover...	84s. to 120s.

COAL MARKET, Dec. 24.*Ships at Market. Ships sold. Price.*

58 Newcastle..	10 ..	29s. 0d. to 39s. 0d.
11½ Sunderland	6 ..	29s. 6d.—40s. 3d.

COUNTRY CATTLE AND MEAT MARKETS, &c.

Norwich Castle Meadow, Dec. 24.—Christmas Day falling on our market day this year, we were thinly supplied with Stock of all kinds, and for what appeared there were but few buyers. In the Meat market there was a good show of prime Beef, Mutton, and Fowls:—Beef 6½d. to 8d.; Mutton 6d. to 7d.; Pork 6d. to 8d.; Geese 10d. to 12d.; Turkeys 12d. to 14d. per lb.

Horncastle, Dec. 24.—Beef, 6s. 6d. to 7s. per stone of 14 lbs.; Mutton, 5d. to 6d.; Veal, 6d. to 8d.; and Pork, 6d. to 7d. per lb.

At *Morpeth Market*, on Wednesday, there was a good supply of Cattle and Sheep, and there being many buyers, fat sold readily at last week's prices.—Beef, from 5s. 6d. to 6s. 3d.; Mutton, 5s. 10d. to 7s. per stone, sinking offal.

LIVERPOOL CORN MARKET.

Tuesday, Dec. 21.—The importations of Grain having increased somewhat considerably since Tuesday last, the demand was very heavy throughout the past week, although Wheats were offered at a decline of 4d. to 5d. per 70lbs.; Flour 9d. to 1s. per 280lb.; Oats 2d. to 3d. per bushel; Oatmeal 1s. per 240lbs.; Barley of each description, 3d. to 6d. per 60lbs.; Malt 3d. per bushel of nine gallons; and Beans 2s. per quarter from the prices of this day se'nnight. Yesterday, however, some sales were made on fine new Irish Wheat and Oats, on rather improved terms; and at this day's market sales to a limited extent were so much better effected on Wheat and Oats as to reduce the decline upon the former 2d. and on the latter only 1d. per bushel.

Imported into Liverpool, from the 15th to the 22d Dec., 1824, inclusive:—Wheat, 8,673; Barley, 2,520; Oats, 18,842; Malt 650; Beans, 515; and Peas, 73 quarters. Flour, 2,627 sacks, per 280 lbs. Oatmeal, 1,459 packs, per 240 lbs.

**AVERAGE PRICE OF CORN, sold in the Maritime Counties of
England and Wales, for the Week ended Dec. 18, 1824.**

	Wheat.		Barley.		Oats.	
	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
London*	69	2	45	6	28	3
Essex	69	10	44	6	27	9
Kent	69	4	45	1	27	10
Sussex	69	8	44	5	25	0
Suffolk	67	6	41	10	28	5
Cambridgeshire	66	11	44	2	24	4
Norfolk	66	9	41	3	27	1
Lincolnshire	65	5	46	1	24	5
Yorkshire	64	5	41	8	22	4
Durham	61	6	42	1	23	7
Northumberland	57	6	39	0	23	10
Cumberland	64	7	34	0	22	5
Westmoreland	66	10	36	8	23	5
Lancashire	64	8	42	2	25	8
Cheshire	66	10	49	4	25	8
Gloucestershire	66	5	45	4	26	1
Somersetshire	68	4	44	4	22	9
Monmouthshire	67	6	43	0	0	0
Devonshire	64	6	38	5	21	5
Cornwall	63	9	36	7	22	6
Dorsetshire	65	9	40	2	26	1
Hampshire	65	9	41	5	23	4
North Wales	64	6	41	8	21	4
South Wales	62	7	38	1	19	9

* The London Average is always that of the Week preceding.